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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

MAY 1956 -- SEPTEMBER 1956

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Masses & Mainstream.

During the period from May through September, 1956, widespread confusion and dissatisfaction have been prevalent among the members of the Communist Party, USA. Party publications have devoted considerable space to articles which have set forth the views of Party leaders and members regarding the organizational and tactical changes which should be made to enable the Party to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. In view of the wide range of opinions expressed during this discussion, no attempt has been made to incorporate a sampling of these views in this issue of The Communist Party Line.

We should keep in mind that if the Party changes its name and organizational structure, it does not intend to change its philosophy or objective, the communization of the United States by any means effective, legal or illegal.

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In recent weeks, the activities of the Communist Party, USA, have presented a confused picture. Party leaders are in disagreement. The rank-and-file members of the Party are bewildered. However, this confusion and bewilderment do not represent a contradiction of the Party line set forth herein. Despite the disorganization within the Party, the Party line today on all the major points delineated herein remains the same.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued its attacks on the foreign policy of the United States which, it alleged, is designed to prolong international tension. Peaceful coexistence and competition with the socialist nations were offered as alternatives. The United States was criticized for not following the lead of the Soviet Union in reducing its military forces, and Party appeals for the outlawing of nuclear weapons continued. The nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt was approved by the Party which urged that this issue be settled through the United Nations.

The Party experienced considerable difficulty in formulating its position on the revelation of Stalin's crimes. It finally approved the explanation offered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but, at the same time, suggested that additional clarification was needed. The United States Department of State was accused of using the revelation of Stalin's crimes to promote international unrest and of attempting to exploit the uprising in Poznan, Poland.

Party propaganda continued to emphasize the "soft spots" in the national economy and repeated its appeals for tax reductions for the low-income group. Considerable emphasis was placed on the importance of

organizing a broad, new socialist coalition based on Marxist principles. The Party maintained that it advocated a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism but warned that "serious class struggle" would be necessary. Party propaganda calling for the defeat of the Republican Administration in the forthcoming national elections continued.

Communist propaganda against the "pro-big business" Republican Administration continued. The American labor movement was encouraged to increase its independent political activity with the view of eventually participating in the formation of a labor-farmer party. The Party continued its protests against the "right-to-work" laws passed by various states and the Taft-Hartley Law. Business interests were charged with using wage increases as excuses for exorbitant price increases. The Party called for greater unity in the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), particularly on the state level, and pleaded for greater international labor solidarity.

Party propaganda attempted to picture the farmers as being on the verge of bankruptcy. The Party viewed the legislation enacted for their benefit during the last session of Congress as coming too late to be effective. The

labor movement and the Negroes were urged to support the farmers in their efforts to keep from being driven off the land as a result of the agricultural program of the Republican Administration.

Great Britain and France were denounced for maintaining colonial regimes in Cyprus and Algeria respectively, and the United States was condemned for lending them its support. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was pictured as supporting the right of all colonial nations to their complete independence.

Communist demands for the repeal of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) continued. The Party urged that the Federal security program be discontinued and condemned the use of confidential informants. In the Party's view, the only constructive legislation enacted in the last session of the 84th Congress was the law which improved social security benefits. The alliance of the Republicans and the "Dixiecrats" was blamed for the failure of Congress. The Party viewed criticism of the United States Supreme Court by members of Congress as an attempt to intimidate the Judicial Branch of the Government.

The Party continued to appeal for substantial reductions in appropriations for national defense so that a large-scale public welfare program could be initiated. American military leaders were urged to

visit the Soviet Union, and the Party called for a congressional investigation of the training program of the United States Marine Corps.

The failure of Congress to enact civil rights legislation was deplored, and the Party viewed the civil rights planks in the campaign platforms of both major political parties as unsatisfactory. The Party called for support for the Negroes who are boycotting the bus line in Tallahassee, Florida, and for the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to continue its work in the Southern States.

The Party noted a revival of academic freedom and insisted that communist teachers should be judged by their professional ability rather than by their political views. The provision of Federal funds for school construction and for increased teachers' salaries was advocated.

The Party called for an increase in the exchange of cultural and religious delegations between nations and in the international exchange of scientific information. Black-listing in the entertainment field was blamed for the deterioration in the quality of American motion pictures. The Party claimed to see a revival in Soviet culture since the death of Stalin and viewed favorably efforts to revive Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. The "public utility monopolists" were accused of delaying the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The Party called for the enactment of Federal legislation which would guarantee women equal pay for performing the same work as men. Congress was also urged to reduce the taxes of mothers who are obliged to work. The increased participation of women in politics was viewed favorably.

Party propaganda claimed that juvenile delinquency is a problem for the community as a whole rather than for individual families. The Party also urged that all children be inoculated against poliomyelitis without charge, and that increased recreational facilities be made available to our youth.

The eventual triumph of socialism over capitalism was confidently predicted, and the Party offered its assurances that this eventuality would solve practically all of the social and economic problems of mankind.

B. Conclusions

1. The principal immediate objective of the Communist Party, USA, is to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. Communist propaganda is, therefore, expected to emphasize the claim that the Communist Party, USA, is a legitimate political party in the American tradition and is completely independent of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is anticipated that stress will be placed on those social, political, and economic issues which enjoy wide popular appeal, while ideological and tactical differences with noncommunists will be minimized.
2. The Communist Party, USA, in recent months has issued numerous appeals for the eventual organization of a broad, new socialist coalition. Party leaders are, therefore, expected

to participate as frequently as possible in public discussions with representatives of other socialist-oriented groups in an effort to find areas of agreement on issues of mutual interest.

3. In its efforts to form a broad, new socialist coalition, the Party is expected to be less critical of noncommunists and noncommunist organizations than it has been in the past. In an effort to further its immediate aim, it will probably tolerate mild criticism of the Soviet Union by other organizations with whom it hopes to join in united-front activity on specific issues.
4. There is considerable discussion within the Communist Party, USA, at the present time regarding possible organizational changes which would be designed to give the Party a "new look." However, it is not anticipated that any action will be taken by the Party toward this end prior to its next national convention, now scheduled to be held in February, 1957.
5. The Party would find it extremely difficult to continue to operate as at present if the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the membership provision of the Smith Act are upheld by the United States Supreme Court.* Party agitation for the repeal of these laws is, therefore, expected to be intensified.
6. Propaganda to the effect that the Communist Party, USA, does not advocate the use of force and violence to achieve its goal is expected to continue. However, Party members will still be warned that the "monopolists" will not surrender peacefully.
7. The Party meekly accepted the explanation offered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for Stalin's crimes.

*The membership provision of the Smith Act provides, in substance, that mere membership in an organization with knowledge that its aim is the overthrow of the Government by force and violence is a violation of the law.

It is, therefore, anticipated that criticism of the Soviet Union in Party publications will be gradually curtailed and will be limited to issues of little consequence.

8. As the national elections approach, Party propaganda calling for the defeat of the Republican Administration is expected to be intensified.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policy of the United States, designed to prolong the cold war, is unpopular throughout most of the rest of the world.
2. The cold war should be ended by the settlement of the outstanding differences between the United States and the socialist nations.
3. Peaceful coexistence and competition between the United States and the socialist nations would be beneficial to our country.
4. The United States has refused to follow the lead of the Soviet Union in reducing military forces.
5. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued as the first step toward the outlawing of these weapons.
6. The foreign aid offered to other nations by our country is designed solely to promote American interests.
7. Egypt was justified in nationalizing the Suez Canal, and this issue should be resolved through discussions in the United Nations.
8. Tension in the Middle East can be resolved through negotiations at which the Soviet Union should be represented.
9. World-wide public opinion forced the United States to recognize the right of other nations to remain neutral.
10. An increase in trade with the socialist nations would stimulate employment in the United States.
11. The United States attempted to exploit the uprising of the workers in Poznan, Poland, "for ulterior motives."

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12. The United States Department of State is using the revelation of Stalin's crimes to "incite enmity" toward the socialist nations.
13. The triumph of socialism is "finally imperative."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"THERE IS LITTLE doubt that throughout the world U. S. foreign policy is identified with military build-up. There is equally little doubt that the majority of the world looks with jaundiced eye on such a program."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

"...there is certainly plenty for which to condemn the President's conduct of foreign affairs."

"...Boiled down it adds up to a studied refusal to end the cold war even though the spirit of Geneva has made the continuation of the cold war well nigh impossible."

Daily Worker,
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

"It is no wonder that America's prestige throughout the world is at its lowest point in history. It is no wonder that American foreign policy is in a crisis and is being reappraised three or four times a day...."

"American foreign policy cannot continue as an instrument of the monopolies. It must be re-shaped with a desire to end, not prolong the Cold War, to encourage, not discourage friendly relations with the countries of socialism. It must have as its goal not the fabulous profits of the trusts, but world peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 24, 1956, p. 5.

2. The Cold War

"A year ago we said the Geneva conference spelled the beginning of the end of the cold war. Today that cold war and the accompanying inflated war budget and high taxes is still maintained by artificial stimulation--with many assists from Dulles, Knowland, Nixon and other foes of the Geneva spirit."

"The same public opinion which helped bring about the summit meeting and the Geneva spirit can also bring the whole cold war to an end."

Editorial, The Worker,
July 15, 1956, p. 1.

"But after Geneva it was obvious that the real issue in world affairs could no longer be dodged. The issue was and is the ending of the entire cold war. This requires settling outstanding differences with the Soviet Union and China. Furthermore, the main feature of world politics is that the factors favoring lasting peace are far more potent than those making for war."

"ALL OVER the world the pressures for an East-West settlement are putting American foreign policy in an ugly light. "

Daily Worker,
July 11, 1956, p. 5.

3. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"There are victories shaping up all right in the world of today. Possibly the biggest is the victory of the policy of peaceful co-existence over the 'positions of strength' and the 'brink of war' diplomacy pursued so doggedly and so long by Dulles and his Democratic predecessors. In both the capitalist and the socialist world the common sense of ordinary men and women has brought victory to the cause of peace. "

Daily Worker,
June 29, 1956, p. 5.

"... The new era will dawn only as an era of peaceful coexistence between America and the Soviet Union. "

The Worker,
May 27, 1956, p. 13.

"... peaceful competition with the socialist world is of the greatest benefit for our country. "

The Worker,
June 17, 1956, p. 4.

4. Disarmament

"A NEW SOVIET threat menaces the peace of mind of officials in Washington. It is the announcement that the Soviet Union will cut its armed forces by 1, 200, 000."

"There are loud wails from Washington about the propaganda advantage the Russians get from their massive arms reduction...."

"The world will hail any real steps toward disarmament. The time is long overdue, for international agreement to cut ALL ARMED FORCES, including our own."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

"...The Administration reacted to the Soviet arms cut with belittling statements and assurances that it would not follow suit. It responded with a request for expanded H-bomb appropriations, and a vigorous campaign to get Congressional approval of the budgeted \$2 billion rise in military foreign aid authorizations.

"Arms cuts can be won only if people--in particular the labor movement--actively demand them...."

The Worker,
June 10, 1956, p. 2.

5. Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

"Nothing is more apparent than the awesome fact that civilization itself--everywhere--would be imperiled in the event of nuclear war.

"Nothing is more necessary than lifting that possibility from over our heads. Although world tensions have been eased, although the atomic stalemate has itself been a restraining factor, the big powers of the world continue to pile up these ghastly instruments of mass destruction....

"As a very minimum the powers should agree to stop testing H-bombs. At the very least there should be an agreement to stop piling up more of such weapons. And the powers should not cease in their efforts to secure a ban on all A-bombs and H-bombs under a system of international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 3, 1956, p. 5.

"...the agreement to stop all tests would immediately create a better atmosphere in world affairs. It would carry forward the present improved world situation. It would be the natural prelude to agreement on disarmament and on banning and destroying all nuclear weapons under a strict system of international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 22, 1956, p. 5.

"The real issue in respect to ending the peril of atomic bombs has been raised in the proposal to stop all nuclear test explosions.... It is not only moral, not only an aid to peace, and a step to disarmament, it is absolutely foolproof because if any country resumed nuclear test explosions it could be detected instantaneously."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 26, 1956, p. 5.

6. Foreign Aid

"The abrupt reversal of the Washington-London offer to Egypt, admittedly an act of reprisal for the Nasser government's readiness to engage in trade with the socialist countries, emphasized anew--and not alone to the outraged Egyptians--the Big Business concept of foreign aid as a weapon to be used for self-interest first."

"...the cynical basis for foreign aid as conceived by the administration is its role as a counter to Soviet 'threats,' whether economic, cultural or diplomatic..."

The Worker,
July 29, 1956, p. 4.

"...this Administration and the trusts for whom it speaks view foreign aid as a bribe only, as payment for services rendered."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 30, 1956, p. 5.

7. The Suez Crisis

"The Suez Canal runs through Egyptian soil. It was built by Egyptian hands, and Egyptian blood--the blood of those who died building it--was merged with its waters. In nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Egyptian government is only correcting an historical injustice which permitted Western governments and investors to plunder colonial Egypt of almost a century ago.

"But Egypt is a colony no longer. And if the Nasser government's action in taking over the canal seems sudden and precipitate, the blame for

that is clearly on the shoulders of Secretary of State Dulles and those who, with him, provoked the action with their arrogant treatment of a free, independent Egypt.

"...Dulles abruptly reneged on previous offers to help Egypt build the Aswan High Dam..."

"The action of Britain and France in launching a series of economic reprisals against Egypt should be condemned as an attempt to aggravate tensions. The State Department, which precipitated this crisis, has not yet joined in these moves, and we trust that public protest will keep Secretary Dulles from doing so."

Ibid.

"This country is pledged to the support of the UN charter. That charter specifically bars the use of force and the threats of force. Such threats have been made by the British and French governments.

"This issue belongs before the world organization. The public should let the Administration know that we favor negotiations to settle the Suez dispute, not dispatching of warships and certainly not the threat to send troops to foreign soil."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 14, 1956, p. 5.

8. Tension in the Middle East

"THE AGREEMENT on a firmer truce by Israel and the Arab states is cause for deep satisfaction...."

"But it would be foolish to think that this is more than a first step in getting a lasting Middle East peace. Negotiations have not even begun between Israel and the Arab states. And until such negotiations do take place and do settle outstanding differences, the seeds of conflict remain...."

"... There will be peace, and the Arab states will be forced to recognize the rights of Israel, only if a firm international authority helps bring this about. There will be no peace if the East-West cold war spreads to the Middle East."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 7, 1956, p. 5.

"The time was never more ripe than now for the Big Four--the U. S., Britain, France and the USSR--to consult together on the Middle East situation. Only the power, the prestige, the authority of united Big Four action can bring Israeli-Arab negotiations.

"... Only the bold initiative of the Big Four, acting together, can bring peace to the troubled Middle East."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 22, 1956, p. 5.

9. Neutralism

"WORLD PUBLIC OPINION has kicked back so hard against the Dulles-Nixon attack on neutralism that the Secretary of State ate some of his previous words at his last press conference.

"Dulles wants us to believe that his previous attack against neutralism was misunderstood. He made his apology just a day after Vice-President Nixon reaffirmed his criticism of India's Prime Minister Nehru."

"All in all we'd say that public opinion here and abroad has once again shown how strong it is in shaping the course of world affairs. The head of the State Department could not get away with his position in the face of such mass sentiment...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 13, 1956, p. 5.

10. Increased Trade with Socialist Nations

"... If the under-developed nations instead of getting guns with strings got our economic aid partly in the form of our farm equipment, cars, trucks and busses without strings it could meet the job and peace needs of the giver and receiver. There are also more jobs in store by ending East-West trade restrictions... on mutually satisfactory gold payments or barter arrangements...."

The Worker,
June 3, 1956, p. 7.

11. Poznan Uprising

"No person of good will can feel anything but grief and regret at the terrible loss of life in Poznan, Poland.

"Our deepest sympathy goes out to the Poznan workers whose long-neglected needs were manipulated to explode in violence."

"But in the course of years many grievances accumulated-- justified grievances among the workers about economic conditions. This is frankly admitted by the Polish government. It is also admitted that there were insufficient avenues for the expression of discontent and for securing redress of grievances."

"There is considerable evidence... that this was no 'spontaneous' uprising but a long-planned instigation. Thus, long pent-up grievances were exploited for ulterior motives.

"It was only two years ago that the Saturday Evening Post boasted that the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)--headed by Allen Dulles--was organizing an underground in Poland and in other socialist countries."

"And now, the State Department, headed by the other Dulles-- John Foster--moves... 'to exploit the unrest' with a food offer...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 2, 1956, p. 5.

12. Stalin's Crimes*

"The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union** is a most valuable and important contribution to analyzing

*The Communist Party, USA, experienced considerable difficulty in formulating its position on this issue. The quotation selected to illustrate the Party's viewpoint consists of excerpts from a statement issued by its national committee. Articles and editorials indicating varying degrees of criticism of Stalin and the present Soviet leaders appeared in the June 6, 1956; June 18, 1956; June 25, 1956; July 2, 1956; and July 3, 1956, issues of the Daily Worker.

**This resolution was adopted on June 30, 1956, and was published in the Soviet newspaper Pravda on July 2, 1956. It was obviously designed not only to answer the questions raised by communist parties throughout the world regarding the reappraisal of Stalin but also to indicate the extent to which future criticism of the Soviet Union would be tolerated.

the origins, effects and lessons of the mistakes made by the CPSU under Stalin's leadership. We welcome it.

"...the resolution reflects the developing relationship of independent and friendly criticism which today marks the fraternal solidarity of Communist parties...."

"...The State Department and the commercial press are trying to suppress the historic contributions which the 20th Congress of the CPSU made especially to promote peaceful co-existence. In a vain effort to rekindle the cold war, they are trying to twist the self-critical revelations about the violations of socialist law and principle that took place in the latter years of Stalin's leadership in order to incite enmity toward the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies."

"The Communist Party of the United States denounces these unprincipled maneuvers of the State Department and the commercial press and calls upon American workers and all other friends of peace to unite more firmly than ever in the fight for peaceful relations between states and against every attempt to revive the cold war. It declares that nothing will ever shake its firm adherence to the principle of international working class solidarity."

"In connection with the questions analyzed in the CPSU resolution, we believe certain aspects of the origins and effects of past violations of socialist law and principle need, and will receive, further study and discussion. Among these are: the question of bureaucratic distortions in a Socialist society, as well as the happenings in the sphere of Jewish cultural institutions and their leadership...."

Daily Worker,
July 26, 1956, p. 1.

13. Inevitable Triumph of Socialism

"The socialist organization of society, wherein the people themselves own and operate the factories, and all the nation's resources, is finally imperative. The end of the dog-eat-dog era is mandatory, both within our nation and abroad."

Daily Worker,
May 23, 1956, p. 6.

"... socialism--the end of the private ownership of the means of production and hence the end to the exploitation of man by man, the replacement of the anarchy of production with a planned society--is itself a force for good such as history has never known before. Socialism, evidently, has the power to make itself felt throughout the world even when distorted and violated as it was by the leadership under the direction of Joseph Stalin who, despite his errors and crimes, nevertheless did not depart from the principles of socialist production proclaimed by the revolution of October, 1917."

"The State Department only betrays its nervousness as it repeats and repeats again that socialism is discredited and dead. Socialism has an impressive present and a still brighter future throughout the world. America, despite all that is exceptional about it, is no exception in this respect."

Daily Worker,
June 14, 1956, p. 4.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. In spite of current prosperity, which is based largely on military spending, there are "many soft spots" in our economy.
2. Although the income of the average family has increased as a result of the efforts of the labor movement, almost one half of America's families earn less than the minimum required to live modestly.
3. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
4. A Federal program of low-cost public housing is necessary to relieve the "desperate" housing shortage.
5. There is still considerable corruption in the Federal Government.
6. While the trend toward fascism in the United States has been curbed, it still remains a danger.
7. Communists must be granted the right of freedom of speech.
8. Improved social security benefits were achieved through pressure by the labor movement.
9. Communists are entitled to social security benefits.
10. Communists are entitled to veterans' pensions.
11. Morton Sobell should be freed or granted a new trial.
12. A broad, new socialist coalition, based on Marxist principles, should be organized.
13. The Communist Party, USA, advocates a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, but it realizes that socialism will be achieved only after "serious class struggle."

14. The Republican Administration should be defeated in the 1956 elections.
15. The "labor and liberal wing" of the Democratic Party was responsible for the selection of its candidates.
16. A Republican victory in the forthcoming national elections would constitute "a peril for the nation."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Prosperity

"... At the present time, although general production is at record high levels, there are many soft spots in the economy, despite all the Keynesian subsidy policies of the Government. Agriculture continues to sink into a slump, there is chronic mass unemployment in the textile and coal-mining industries, and, with a stockpile of 900,000 cars, far-reaching layoffs of workers are also taking place in the automobile industry. Especially since the Geneva Conference... the American industrialists are in a state of confusion and are fearful of the future market prospects."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U. S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, p. 30.

"... Militarization and war set off the boom and conditioned its development. But it proceeded--and at present stalls--under its own dynamics. The internal contradictions making for economic crisis are coming to a head."

The Worker,
June 10, 1956, p. 2.

2. Standard of Living

"... Forty-one percent of the FAMILIES had incomes in 1955 of less than \$4,000, --less than \$77 a week--before tax deductions. An additional 14 percent received incomes between \$4,000 and \$5,000.

"THAT MEANS that roughly half of the families of the United States received income below what the Bureau of National Affairs estimates is the minimum health and decency four-person family budget--\$4,275 or \$82.50 weekly. "..."

Daily Worker,
June 27, 1956, p. 5.

"UNDOUBTEDLY the average U. S. family gets more real income than before World War II--one-third more than in 1929, says the Commerce Department. A small enough gain compared with the rise in labor productivity--but important.

"Part of the gain was made possible by reasonably regular employment over the past 15 years and by the employment of more wage earners per family. How much of the gain resulted from wars and ever-high arms budgets is a subject to debate which will be settled finally by future events. Capitalism can rightfully claim credit for these employment-stimulators. *

"All of the gain was realized by labor, by the organization of the unorganized, by self-sacrificing strikes against resistant capitalists... Certainly capitalism gets no credit for that."

The Worker,
July 8, 1956, pp. 2-4.

*With reference to typographical errors, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. In this connection, underlining was not used to indicate combinations of words improperly hyphenated and spaced.

3. Tax Reductions

"SHARP REDUCTION in federal income taxes paid by working-class families earning less than \$6,000 a year is vitally important. Trade unions should speak out immediately demanding that exemptions for each individual and each dependent, now \$600, should be raised to \$1,000.

"Such a reduction could be made easily without impairing any governmental services if the enormous annual outlay for arms were reduced, even by ten percent. . . The steadily relaxing world tensions since Geneva make an even larger cut practicable and desirable."

The Worker,
May 13, 1956, p. 12.

4. Housing Crisis

"... low-cost housing facilities are becoming increasingly more inadequate and the situation confronting the poorest sections of the population are becoming more desperate as slum clearance drives thousands out of their already inadequate quarters."

Daily Worker,
May 8, 1956, p. 4.

"It would also require added pressure on Congress to put through at least the extremely modest program of 135,000 public housing units contained in the Lehman bill before Congress. Reports have it that the GOP in the House, helped by some reactionary Democrats, is set to reduce it to 35,000 units per year."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 8, 1956, p. 5.

5. Corruption in Government

"There are several big messes in Washington that demand the most ruthless probing. They are:

"1. The mess in the National Labor Relations Board. Senator Morse has called for a probe of the NLRB, and has buttressed his demand by an impressive analysis of how the NLRB has been subverted by its GOP officials into an instrument for management....

"2. The mess in the natural gas lobby. Ever since the revelation of Senator Case, South Dakota Republican, early in the session that an attempt had been made to bribe him to vote for the gas steal, the leadership of both parties in Congress has employed every device of legislative chicanery and deceit to stifle the probe.

"3. The mess in war hysteria and 'defense' profits.... Outstanding among these are the airplane companies whose stake in war hysteria is 100 percent of parity. An honest and thorough investigation of the ties of the plane companies to politicians would probably put the natural gas scandal in the shade."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on Capitol Hill," Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 12-13.

6. Danger of Fascism

"Another of the characteristic manifestations of this period has been the development of a strong fascist trend, in the shape of McCarthyism. This threat was cultivated by big business and expressed in many reactionary laws and practices of the Eisenhower and Truman Governments.... Although somewhat curbed in 1954 as a result of national and international mass pressure, fascism still remains a real danger in the United States."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U. S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, pp. 31-32.

"... McCarthyism has not yet been fully defeated and... it is determined to challenge the rise of democratic movements with a counter-offensive. Far from accepting its defeats with equanimity, it lashes back furiously in an attempt to reverse the rising tide of popular democratic expression."

A. Krchmarek, "The Ohio Smith Act Trial,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 58.

7. Freedom of Speech

"The country is beginning to recognize once again that freedom of speech becomes hollow unless it includes freedom for the ideas of Communists...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 22, 1956, p. 5.

8. Improved Social Security Benefits

"THE AMENDMENTS to the Social Security Law passed this week in the Senate and approved earlier in the House were enacted over the opposition of President Eisenhower. They represent a further advance of the legislation first passed during the high point of the Roosevelt New Deal era. Two important new principles are brought into the law: the idea that women should have a right to retire at an earlier age than men; the right of disabled persons to retire before they reach 65."

"The changes are a victory for labor. The trade unions brought into action the most vigorous pressure.... It was the labor movement's refusal to tail the Democratic Party bosses, and its strong insistence on the

bill, that put more vigor into the Democratic legislators and, thereby, put many Republicans, too, 'on the spot' in this election year. It's a lesson that ought to be remembered."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 20, 1956, p. 5.

9. Social Security Benefits for Communists

"RECENTLY the general counsel for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare 'casually' circulated through the Department a memorandum holding that: Communists working within their Party's apparatus were not eligible for social security benefits, because they were 'employees of a foreign government.' . . .

"On the basis of this memo the heads of several regional Social Security offices struck a number of Communist leaders off the old age pension lists. . . ."

"The government's attempted justification of this unprecedented and illegal attack upon the Social Security Act under pretext of fighting the Communists must forearm the American people. . . ."

"The country must still be aroused if the Social Security Act is to be safeguarded. . . . Those who fought to realize the Social Security Act must be mobilized to defend it while it is not yet too late."

Daily Worker,
June 8, 1956, p. 4.

10. Pensions for Communists

"THE ACTION of the Board of Veterans Appeals in refusing to reinstate Bob Thompson's* disability pension defies every standard of justice and national interest.

"That pension was not a 'privilege' given to Thompson. It was a small token of a nation's debt to a man who was grievously disabled in heroic service to his country...."

"The government instituted pensions for all veterans disabled in line of duty. This was a solemn obligation to those who saved our country in its hour of need."

"The pension rights of all Americans are jeopardized if the Thompson decision is allowed to stand. We urge our readers to write on this matter to their representatives in Congress. Also write to your local newspapers. And send copies to President Eisenhower in Washington."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

11. The Morton Sobell Case

"THE TRAGIC EVENTS of June 19, 1953, will ever remain a poignant, bitter memory for many Americans. On that day, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a young American couple of immense courage and honesty,

*Thompson, one of the Party's national leaders, was convicted of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act and is now serving his term in prison.

parents of two young children, were put to death by a conscience-less Department of Justice."

"Those who defended the Rosenbergs are now seeking the freedom of Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years as their 'co-conspirator.'..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 19, 1956, p. 5.

"A motion in behalf of Morton Sobell, based on a petition and exhibits which set forth 'the prosecution's knowing use of perjured evidence and its suppression of the facts,' was filed in U. S. Federal Court... The motion asks that a hearing be held to determine the facts and the laws, and that either the sentence be set aside and Sobell freed, or that a new trial be granted.

"By the wilful and intentional use of perjurious testimony by the prosecution, Sobell was denied a fair trial, and wrongfully incarcerated in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence, said the petition...."

The Worker,
May 13, 1956, p. 4.

12. New Socialist Coalition

"...we American Communists, on the basis of our own experience, have come to realize that certain developments in our own country require a 'new look.' And this prompts us to state unequivocally that we can have only the most positive approach to all honest socialist and Marxist-oriented groupings and individuals, whatever our differences may be on certain tactical and programmatic questions. We share the

aspirations of many of these forces for a mass party of Socialism in our country. We, too, want to create the conditions for such a necessary and historic development."

"This of course does not call for any move to try to form a new party of Socialism prematurely. True, socialist currents are growing and will continue to do so, and the activity of diverse Marxist-oriented groups is on the upgrade. Yet the task of organizing a broad, mass party of Socialism, based in substance on genuine Marxist principles, cannot be easy nor quick. We American Communists will do our utmost to help create the pre-requisite for such a development.

"Considerable headway can surely be made in this direction in the next year or two. But this will be a process. It will necessitate sharp political and ideological struggles, as well as our collective participation with the bulk of all the socialist-minded elements in united front activity in concert with other progressive forces....

"In the interim, and as one of the essential pre-conditions for establishing a broader mass party of Socialism, it will surely be necessary to strengthen our Communist Party politically, ideologically, and organizationally--and, above all, to extend its mass influence and United Front relationships."

Eugene Dennis, "For a Mass Party
of Socialism,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 2, 3.

13. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"As for the USA, we American Communists re-affirm that we do not advocate force and violence. We do not consider civil war inevitable nor in any way desirable. We desire and seek constitutional and democratic solutions to current and fundamental problems. We favor and advocate a peaceful and democratic transition to Socialism. *

*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"We Communists and other advanced workers strive for a constitutional and democratic solution to all the problems of today and tomorrow in full recognition of the fact that U. S. monopoly capital is the strongest in the world and one of the most ruthless in furthering its objectives at home and abroad. The U. S. trusts and their political representatives have used and will continue to try to use demagoguery, division and force and violence to one degree or another to halt all social progress and democratic advance here or anywhere else.

"... it is necessary at every juncture to prevent and defeat the stubborn efforts of the economic royalists to thwart the popular will...."

Ibid., pp. 5-6.

"The Communist Party advocates and fights for the most peaceful possible and the legal establishment of Socialism in the United States, by means of a people's front--people's democracy course of development. Knowing so well the lawlessness and brutality of American monopoly capital, the Party has, however, never undertaken, in any sense, to say that such a consummation can be guaranteed or taken for granted. On the contrary, the Party realizes that all such major steps forward by the workers of this country can be won only on the basis of serious class struggle...."

William Z. Foster, "The Road to Socialism, II,"
Political Affairs, May, 1956, p. 17.

14. 1956 Elections

"... We will likewise focus attention on the main tasks of the moment and the period ahead, especially the forging of a labor-democratic coalition whose potential for effectively curbing the power of the trusts will grow ever more mighty.

"The central objective in the '56 elections is to help create the conditions for the emergence of such an anti-monopoly coalition capable of influencing the next Administration and Congress, and of subsequently bringing into power an Administration and Congress resting on and responsive to such a popular movement and alliance--a government committed to peaceful negotiation and reducing international tensions, to promoting the economic security of the working people at the expense of the monopolies, to upholding the Constitution and enforcing the Bill of Rights...."*

Eugene Dennis, "For a Mass Party of Socialism,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 7.

"THE UNITY of the overwhelming majority of the trade unions in the current election was strongly underlined with the nearly unanimous endorsement of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket by the 173-member General Board of the AFL-CIO in a special meeting in Chicago."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 14, 1956, p. 5.

15. Democratic Candidates

"THE CONVENTION'S nomination of Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver has given the Democratic party what most observers agree is the strongest ticket the party could put in the field against General Eisenhower. Significantly, these were the candidates supported by the majority of the labor and liberal delegates at the convention, establishing once again the axiom that the Democratic party performs best when it listens to its labor and liberal wing."

*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"These are the facts which give the labor and liberal wing of the party the right to have its voice heard on the crucial question of how the campaign shall be conducted."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 20, 1956, p. 1.

16. Republican Candidates

"...the nomination of Dick Nixon, which would put this hero of the Old Guard within a heartbeat of the Presidency, confirms the generally held thesis of labor that a Republican victory, in view of Mr. Eisenhower's health, would constitute a peril for the nation which should be avoided at all costs."

"The labor-liberal objection to Nixon is... that it is both dangerous and morally wrong to place this unprincipled, self-seeking individual in a situation from which he might accede to the highest and most powerful position in our government."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 24, 1956, p. 5.

"...he is a tool of corporate wealth and against labor. Quite simply, he would take our nation to war to defend the Asian interests of U. S. corporations. Quite simply, he would slander, persecute, imprison and ruin honorable men and women whose social and economic views differ from his own neolithic outlook.

"Uncounted millions of labor men and women are looking forward to casting a vote against Nixon on Nov. 6 with a sharp anticipation which we can well understand. Their decision is grounded in their recognition of Nixon's character, record and program..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 24, 1956, p. 5.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. America's "managed economy" is designed to promote the interests of the "monopolists."
2. The Republican Administration is "nakedly pro-big business."
3. The large corporations are endeavoring to maintain a high level of unemployment.
4. The labor movement should initiate a concentrated drive to organize the unorganized.
5. In this organizing drive, special emphasis should be afforded to the Southern States.
6. The minimum wage should be raised to \$1.25 per hour.
7. The labor movement should increase its independent political activity.
8. The ultimate goal of the labor movement should be the organization of a labor-farmer party.
9. The "right-to-work" laws passed by various states are designed to weaken the labor movement.
10. The Taft-Hartley Law should be repealed.
11. The gains achieved as a result of the strike against the steel industry represented "a significant advance."
12. The large corporations are attempting to negotiate long-term, no-strike contracts in order to reduce the effectiveness of labor unions.
13. "Big Business" uses wage increases as an excuse for exorbitant increases in prices.

14. Socialism offers the best solution to the problems raised by automation.
15. Complete labor unity has not yet been achieved in the AFL-CIO, and the unions expelled from the CIO as communist dominated should attempt to merge with unions in the AFL-CIO.
16. The American labor movement should unite more closely with the labor movement in other nations.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Economy

"ONE OF THE most significant economic and political trends in the period of imperialism, especially since World War I, has been the growth of the so-called managed economy in the major capitalist states. This is an expression of state monopoly capitalism. It manifests itself in attempts by the monopolists to control the economic processes generally through governmental manipulation of certain elementary economic factors...."

"Currently, the United States furnishes the most characteristic example of the 'managed economy' type of organization. In the American economy the monopolists, rich beyond comparison, continue to grow and to consolidate their political controls. The combined Morgan-Rockefeller interests now dominate more than \$125 billion in assets. The 'managed economy' is a major means by which such gigantic interests are fastening their grip upon the state and are using it to serve their own purposes...."

"...The countries with 'managed economies' remain capitalist... Their central purposes are to exploit the workers to the limit, to realize

maximum profits for the monopolist rulers, and to protect the capitalist system from revolutionary attacks by the workers and their allies...."

"The 'managed economy' of capitalism, while it definitely facilitates the purposes and the profits of monopoly capitalism, does not overcome the inherent chaos of the capitalist system...."

"For the past four decades or more there has been in the United States a long-term trend toward the 'managed economy.'..."

"The broad significance of all this governmental control was a gigantic infusion of financial subsidies, state and private, into the general economic bloodstream, specifically for the benefit of the big corporations...."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U.S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, pp. 20, 21, 22, 29, 30.

2. Republican Administration is "Pro-Big Business"

"As for the domestic policy of Ike's administration, it is solidly opposed by the trade unionists of America, the majority of the Negro people and a growing mass of the smaller farmers. It is nakedly pro-big business on every important count...."

Daily Worker,
July 25, 1956, p. 5.

"...But the 'right to prosper'...belongs only to the billionaire monopolists the Eisenhower administration so loyally serves."

"...neither the jobless auto workers nor the crisis-ridden farmers can look for genuine sympathy or help from an administration whose heart bleeds only for the rich."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 25, 1956, p. 5.

3. Unemployment

"THE UNITED AUTO WORKERS is justifiably alarmed over the continuing wave of layoffs in the automobile industry. The Department of Labor acknowledged 137,000 were laid off in the industry since January. The union's figure is even higher."

"The situation is just as serious in coal mining and other fields. The workers and unions far beyond auto are watching events in Detroit."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 7, 1956, p. 5.

"The companies are still not satisfied and they would like to achieve in steel what has already taken place in coal--a cut of the number of workers by about half. To make that possible, they'd like to limit the union to a dues-collecting role."

"... The key for them is an insurance of what they call peace in the industry. They want no hindrance from unions for a plan to raise profits to still higher levels and employment to the lowest in the industry's modern history."

Daily Worker,
June 20, 1956, p. 5.

4. Organizing the Unorganized

"THE DECISION of the AFL-CIO council to launch that long-awaited and much-needed organizing drive in the textile industry may prove to be the most important of labor's recent decisions....

"Every union should be happy to make the needed financial contribution for that drive and give all possible cooperation, because its successful outcome can have tremendous political, economic and social implications for all labor and all America. The target is the major unorganized field in manufacturing. The field is mainly the vast reaction-dominated South. The promise: better conditions for the million textile workers and a South that is a base for progress, not Dixiecratism.

"Every unionist and forward-looking American will pitch in to make this drive a reality. They are waiting for the AFL-CIO to give the signal!"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

"It is also becoming evident, however, that a scatter-shot organizer cannot be very effective. It will take a concentration of a great deal organizing power and funds for a breakthrough in a specific locality-- an effort that only the full backing of the AFL-CIO in conjunction with the unions directly involved, can be successful. That was the principle that

was advanced in the merger. But so far, more than five months after the merger convention, there is nothing under way in the way of organizing of the unorganized, north or south."

Daily Worker,
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

5. Organizing Drive in the South

"Thus, the South is a millstone around labor's neck generally. And if there are unorganized low wage textile mills in the vicinity of organized mines and steel mills, they are a threat to union and wage standards of the organized. The widening of the gap cannot continue indefinitely."

The Worker,
July 8, 1956, p. 3.

"...The more than 2,000,000 trade unionists in the South are showing considerable maturity... Labor has already a substantial base in Dixie and needn't feel itself like an 'invader' when organizing begins to roll."

The Worker,
August 5, 1956, p. 3.

"After some hesitation, the AFL-CIO has at last assigned the first batch of organizers to work with the textile and tobacco unions in a key Southern area drive."

Daily Worker,
September 28, 1956, p. 5.

6. Minimum Wage

"The AFL-CIO has made the issue of minimum wage its No. 1 objective at this session of Congress... Although labor is not satisfied with the \$1 minimum and continues to push its demand that this be boosted to \$1.25, the AFL-CIO is concentrating now on the issue of extending coverage."

Daily Worker,
May 15, 1956, p. 4.

"Labor's fight on the minimum wage issue nationally... said by AFL-CIO to be a Number One concern in 1956, is running into trouble...."

"... while at the beginning of the session labor hoped to win extension of federal minimum wage coverage this year as it won the \$1 minimum last year, the outlook now appears to be dim. That is, unless the AFL-CIO generally and in particular those unions most directly concerned ... mount a vigorous drive in the near future.

"It would seem that labor can win this fight this year, with both the Democrats and Republicans sensitive to issues in relation to the 1956 election struggle."

Daily Worker,
May 31, 1956, p. 8.

7. Labor's Independent Political Activity

"... the over-all lack of independent political organization and isolation from the internal Democratic structure makes it always necessary for labor to start from scratch.

"The next step in the evolution of the popular will, as against dictation of the political machine, needs to be mass participation in party primaries, organized through the labor movement and its allies. This will both require and stimulate independent political organization."

Daily Worker,
June 4, 1956, p. 4.

"... The coalition of labor, Negro people, liberals, small farmers which look to the Democrats for a ticket and platform as an alternative to the Cadillac Cabinet's ticket and platform, will need to keep up its independent pressures both on Congress and on the Democratic Party."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 7, 1956, p. 5.

8. Labor-Farmer Political Party

"American working-class-political action... is now relatively rapidly on the way to the formation of a great mass political party, which will almost certainly take the familiar historic American form of a labor-farmer or people's party; but this time with the workers in the lead. It would be absurd to think that the present situation of 16, 000, 000 organized workers dominated by bourgeois politicians can long continue. The recent merger of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. was, at the same time, a long stride towards independent working class political action. In all likelihood the next real economic or political crisis in this country will bring the new party, now aborning, to fruition, probably through a large-scale split in the Democratic Party."

"This is why it is so necessary, particularly for the Communist Party, in this rapidly ripening political situation, to keep before the workers the ultimate aim of independent political action and a great labor-farmer party, comprising a majority of the American people...."

William Z. Foster, "The Road to Socialism, II,"
Political Affairs, May, 1956, p. 18.

9. "Right-To-Work" Laws

"THE SUPREME COURT'S unanimous decision to uphold the union shop in the railroad industry is a major victory for the trade union movement. The ruling acknowledges the primacy of the Federal Railway Labor Act of 1951, which authorized the union shop, over so called 'right-to-work' laws enacted in 18 states in which the union shop had been banned...."

"Here is one more instance in which the high court has sharply sustained the authority of the federal law and federal jurisdiction over state encroachments."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 23, 1956, p. 5.

"REPEAL by the Louisiana legislature of that state's misnamed 'right-to-work' law, the first of the 18 states with those anti-labor statutes to do so, may well augur a reverse trend. The victory should give new encouragement to labor's struggle for an end of these laws aimed at weakening unions and curbing organizing efforts.

"If it can be done in Louisiana, it can be done in the other states. The achievement should be a spur to political action by labor. It was the result of an intense drive by the now merged labor movement of that southern state."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 21, 1956, p. 5.

10. Taft-Hartley Law

"The success in Louisiana should also strengthen confidence in the fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. It was the enactment of that law in 1947 that gave the green-light for the 'right-to-work' movements today headed by Fred Hartley, co-author of the law."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 21, 1956, p. 5.

11. Steel Strike

"THE BASIC overall terms agreed to between the 12 big steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America... are a significant advance for the steelworkers. They will unquestionably lift labor's 1956 wage round to a higher level.

"The agreement provides only some of what the union asked and the workers justifiably expected. But it is a step forward and some of the gains are of historic importances for the steelworkers and labor generally....

"The employers rightfully boast of their gain, too. They won a three-year no-strike pact (although not the five-year pact they sought). They will try to take advantage of it to cut their labor cost through technological job elimination."

"The new steel pact will put new vigor into labor's pressure for higher wages and other concessions. But it should be borne in mind that there is no automatic application of the 'steel pattern.' Others can come up to it or surpass it only if they show the strength, vigor and solidarity the steelworkers displayed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 31, 1956, p. 5.

12. Long-Term Contracts

"The steel companies, like the other major corporations, are putting great emphasis on a five-year pact because they want time without restriction still further to reduce the number of workers through technological changes. They have learned from experience that cutting payrolls and increasing productivity is the real key to superprofits."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 18, 1956, p. 5.

"UNION PEOPLE soon learn that their rates and job security are as strong as the effectiveness of their unions to enforce them. It comes down to the basic right to retain the strike weapon and show a willingness to use it periodically when serious issues come to fore. The employers know this, too, and for that reason have pitched their strategy on getting a five-year contract."

Daily Worker,
July 2, 1956, p. 5.

"The close interlocking between the steel interests and the auto and electrical firms, suggests that the idea of tying American unions to long no-strike agreements was a long-planned strategy of America's monopolies in the drive to weaken and 'tame' unions."

The Worker,
June 24, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"...it would be a sorry day, indeed, if the five-year idea--with its stagnating, paralyzing effect--becomes the pattern for union contracts."

Daily Worker,
June 25, 1956, p. 5.

13. Industry Is Responsible for Price Increases

"The companies appeal to the farmers, other workers, small business and professional people to win them as allies against the workers' wage demands. They say this results in price hikes and thus LABOR hurts everybody with its demands. The truth is that it is Big Business which is responsible for the price hikes. It uses the contract demands as an excuse and raises prices out of all proportion to the increases."

Daily Worker,
July 17, 1956, pp. 5, 7.

"The steel situation offers the most clearout basis for proving that wage increases need have no effect on prices. And the public should be told the facts to counteract the false cry of the corporations that they MUST extort more from the steel purchasers, and increase the danger of inflation."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 31, 1956, p. 5.

14. Automation

"... automation serves to bring home to workers ever more clearly the growing irrationality of capitalist production--the widening contrast between what should be and what exists, as well as between the situation here and that in a socialist country. It raises the question of Socialism with greater urgency."

"The dangers of automation to labor have given rise to a variety of programs for combatting them. These include demands for higher wages, guaranteed annual wage, shorter work week, revision of job classifications, higher pay for automated jobs, broadened seniority groupings, retraining of workers at company expense, relocation allowances for displaced workers, and a number of others.

"Particular impetus has been given to the fight for the thirty-hour week...."

Hyman Lumer, "Automation in the
Cleveland Ford Plants,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956,
pp. 31, 32.

"The automation problem is new. And new bold ideas are needed to meet it. If society (rather than private profiteers) owned and operated automation...for human needs it would be a boon to mankind instead of a destructive monster. But this would mean replacing capitalism by socialism."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 3, 1956, p. 7.

15. Labor Unity

"LABOR'S UNITY, less than six months old, is being seriously challenged on many fronts. The recent executive council session of the AFL-CIO had to take notice of the grave developments with an appeal to the affiliates to 'get on with the unity job.'"

"THE AFL-CIO bodies have thus far merged in only six of the states of lesser importance. Merger talks in most of the key spots were slowed as though in response to a signal."

"Unfortunately much of our labor movement is currently just marking time. There is a widespread wait-and-see spirit as though the results of unity are scheduled to drop like manna from heaven."

"There is only one way to meet both the internal and external disrupters; it is to mount the offensive on the political and organizing fronts. That could arouse and mobilize the members and focus the spotlight on those who are in the way--whether the union-busters, the racists or the power-hungry factionalists."

The Worker,
May 20, 1956, pp. 3, 14.

"... For at least two years, even before there was serious talk of a merger in the labor movement as a whole, we have pointed out that there is no secure future for the unaffiliated (former CIO) unions* as independent unions, and that they will have no alternative but to seek entry into the main stream through reunification of the workers in their respective fields."

Daily Worker,
June 11, 1956, p. 5.

16. International Labor Solidarity

"... on this May Day there is a stronger outlook for re-unification of the world's workers than any time since the split of nearly 40 years ago. World developments, including the growth of the camp under socialism to a population of nearly a billion, the casting off of dogmas and prejudices and the trend for more creative thinking in working class ranks, is narrowing the differences that have held apart sections of world labor...."

"OUR TRADE UNION officialdom still clings to its old conservatism and isolation from a substantial section of world labor...."

"In greeting the world's working class on the occasion of this--the 70th--May Day, we voice the hope that before long the workers of America will be truly integrated in spirit and outlook, with the workers of the world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 1, 1956, p. 5.

*The reference is to those unions expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950 as communist dominated.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The decline in the income of farmers over a period of years has left many farmers on the verge of bankruptcy.
2. Legislation designed to assist the farmers was passed too late to be of effective assistance.
3. The Republican Administration is trying to drive large numbers of farmers from the land.
4. The labor movement and the Negroes should support the demands of the farmers for additional Federal assistance.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Crisis in Agriculture

"Today the farmers are getting not the 100 percent parity which Eisenhower promised at Kasson, Minn., in 1952, nor the 90 percent which he 'guaranteed.' The parity index at this writing is 82 percent! When Ike made his promise, farmers were getting \$20.60 per hundred pounds. After three and a half years of Ezra Benson, they are getting \$16.20--down 20 percent. And 600,000 farmers have gone out of business since he promised to help them four years ago."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 27, 1956, p. 5.

"...many farmers are confronted now not only by loss of income but by loss of farm and home.... The issue here is no longer firm or sliding parity, but survival or bankruptcy.

"...The fact that moratorium vs. bankruptcy, and the destruction of the family farm by the big farms have been raised in this session,* means,

*The reference is to the last session of the 84th Congress.

however, that a far more serious situation is in the making on the countryside than many persons think."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on
Capitol Hill,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 10.

2. Farm Aid Ineffective

"... For example, farmers... are not sure what benefits they will derive from the 1956 farm bill, the so-called 'compromise' measure adopted after an Eisenhower veto and a politically-charged debate.

"The soil bank, main feature of the bill, was enacted too late to do the maximum good. Far fewer farmers than anticipated will come under the program. And most of the soil bank payments for unworked or diverted land will be less than \$50 an acre."

The Worker,
July 8, 1956, p. 3.

3. Administration Wants Fewer Farmers

"The grass roots mobilization that turned a Congressional defeat on farm legislation into victory, but was not sufficient to prevent a presidential veto, or to override it, was one of the major struggles this session. The veto by the President, despite its admitted political dangers for the GOP, was clear evidence of the determination by the Cadillac Administration to resolve the farm situation by permitting hundreds of thousands more farmers to be cleaned out.

"The latest farm legislation which, at this writing, seems assured of passage, will contribute very little toward halting the downward

trend in agriculture income, let alone restoring any part of the losses that have been inflicted on millions of farmers during the past several years."

Erik Bert, "Deeds and Words on
Capitol Hill,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 9.

4. Farmers Need Support

"Similarly, labor and the Negro people's movement should support the demand of the working farmers for legislation at the current session to provide relief."

The Worker,
May 13, 1956, p. 12.

V. COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism perpetuates "illiteracy, backwardness and superstition" in colonial nations.
2. The United States dominates Latin America.
3. The present Government of Guatemala, imposed on that nation by the United States, is totalitarian.
4. Algeria is being terrorized by French troops.
5. A "brutal colonial war" is being waged against Cyprus by Great Britain.
6. The United States is supporting the suppression of the colonial nations.
7. The Soviet Union is supporting the right of colonial nations to their complete independence.
8. The communist nations, along with those which have recently gained their independence, constitute "an international belt of peace."
9. Socialism offers the best solution to the problem of industrializing the colonial nations.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Imperialism Perpetuates Misery

"History shows that imperialist aid to colonial countries... while it may provide some D. D. T. and modern drains, will not help a country to win its independence.

"On the contrary, it will strengthen the economic and political grip of foreign capital, and perpetuate illiteracy, backwardness and superstition."

Daily Worker,
June 5, 1956, p. 7.

"... India is backward and its people poverty-stricken because of a century and a half of domination by 'Western civilization.' Capitalism had its chance in India. The fruits are all too terrible to tolerate. They are even more terrible in Africa. And in our own back yard, south of the border, the people of many Latin American countries have a life-span of 30 years--another tribute to western civilization, Wall Street brand."

Daily Worker,
July 9, 1956, p. 5.

2. Latin America

"... the Latin American governments under puppet dictators are only suppression agencies of the Wall Street monopolies in their own countries..."

Daily Worker,
June 13, 1956, p. 6.

"Real progress in the Latin American countries can be made only under democratic governments chosen freely by their own people. Along with economic and scientific aid, the Eisenhower Administration must end its efforts to determine the form of government and the governmental policies of the recipients of that aid."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 24, 1956, p. 5.

3. Guatemala

"The government of Guatemala proclaimed a state of siege yesterday after police fired machine guns directly into crowds of students, mainly girls, killing three university students and wounding at least 19 seriously.

"The totalitarian regime of Carlos Castillo Armas acted after a second day of demonstration in which Guatemalan citizens are demanding elementary civil liberties...."

"It was just two years ago that Guatemala's democratic government was overthrown in an armed putsch organized from abroad by Castillo with the moral, political, diplomatic and military aid of the U. S. government.

"Since then free trade unions have been smashed; land that had been distributed to peasants was returned to the big feudal landlords--the biggest of them being the United Fruit Co. with main offices on Wall Street; suffrage for workers and peasants was limited so that the majority of the population lost the right to vote. And to crown this Castillo suspended even the remnant of civil rights as soon as Guatemalan citizens tried to exercise them."

Daily Worker,
June 27, 1956, p. 1.

"Today the blinders are off the eyes of many people who believed Dulles two years ago when he said Guatemala was the victim of a Communist plot...."

"And after the massacre of Guatemalan students all Americans of good will should stand up against totalitarianism to the south of us which bears the label--Imposed by John Foster Dulles."

The Worker,
July 1, 1956, p. 4.

*This probably should read "with main offices on Wall Street."

4. Algeria

"... The plain fact is that Algeria has become an occupied country living under the daily terror of foreign troops who shoot first and ask questions later...."

"In Algeria... 'free world' activity is spelled out in gruesome detail... the French lynchers of Algerians 'thought to be accomplices' of independence, have done the spelling."

Daily Worker,
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

5. Cyprus

"The island of Cyprus is inhabited by half a million people, over 80 percent of whom are Greek. They are Greek in language, tradition, custom, culture, blood relationship, history and every other criterion. They are kept in submission as a crown colony by the bayonets of British troops."

Daily Worker,
May 28, 1956, p. 5.

"... Furthermore, any killing that goes on in Cyprus is brought on solely because a brutal colonial war of suppression is being waged by foreign troops--the British."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 11, 1956, p. 5.

6. U.S. Supports Colonialism

"The sad, sad thing for us Americans, is that the colonial wars of suppression go on with the moral, financial and military support of our government. In UN our representatives even refused to allow public debate of these questions, as if to emphasize how free the 'free world' really is."

Daily Worker,
May 16, 1956, p. 5.

"Already U. S. foreign investments place in the shade those of the old European colonial powers. The trend is to tie us up in web of modern colonialism to involve us in every attempt of vested corporate interests to suppress the world-wide movements for modern living standards, based on nationalization of resources and their use for internal development...."

The Worker,
September 16, 1956, p. 12.

7. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"It's also being admitted that the Soviet Union is playing its part as a factor both for peaceful negotiations as well as in giving strong support to the anti-colonial position..."

Daily Worker,
August 13, 1956, p. 5.

"...Furthermore the Soviet Union was winning enormous prestige all over Asia, all over the Middle East, and also in Latin America and Africa, because it supported the rights of the colonial and former colonial peoples to control their own destinies."

The Worker,
August 12, 1956, pp. 4, 13.

8. Colonial and Socialist Nations for Peace

"This May Day will reflect the new situation in the world with special emphasis. Nearly 40 percent of the world's people will celebrate the victory of socialism in their countries.

"Marching closely in step with them is a substantial part of the world, including lands like India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, and others that have rid themselves of the colonial yoke. Together with the socialist world, they comprise a majority of the world's population, constituting an international belt of peace...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 1, 1956, p. 5.

9. Colonial Nations Need Socialism

"WHICH brings us again to the means by which a backward country can develop modern industry most effectively...."

"The modern industrial system is social...."

"To enable modern industry to flourish, to advance industry with seven league boots and to abolish poverty in the midst of plenty; to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes, to apply automation without disastrous dislocation -- all this requires planning, public ownership and control -- Socialism in other words...."

Daily Worker,
July 9, 1956, p. 5.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The Smith Act should be repealed. There should be no further prosecutions under this law, and the communist leaders who have been convicted of violating this law should be granted amnesty.
2. Noncommunists are beginning to realize that the Communist Party, USA, has the right to "a legal existence."
3. The McCarran Act is unconstitutional and is designed to eliminate "political dissent."
4. The Federal security program should be discontinued.
5. The use of confidential informants should be discontinued.
6. The alliance of the "Dixiecrats" and Republicans caused the failure of the 84th Congress.
7. Congressional attacks on the Supreme Court are attempts to intimidate its members.
8. The American public is "fed up" with the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives.
9. "Big Business" controls Congress through lobbying and campaign contributions.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Smith Act

"... There have been flagrant cases of injustice in the courts of this country, but for callous indifference to human rights and for disregard of

elementary democratic justice, few of these outrages have surpassed the many kangaroo jailings under the Smith Act."

.
"To wipe out the Smith Act would constitute one of the big victories for civil liberties in the history of this country...."

.
"THE DEMAND for amnesty for the imprisoned Communist leaders and for a moratorium on further Smith Act arrests and prosecutions until the Supreme Court has concluded its second look next fall has risen to new heights...."

.
"The big task now is to mobilize the growing spirit of resistance to the Smith Act, and if this is done the fight against the Smith Act can be won."

Daily Worker,
July 10, 1956, p. 5.

"...President Eisenhower's action this week in signing a law, however, to increase Smith Act penalties to 20 years in jail, is a sharp reminder that there is no intent in Washington to cry quits..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 30, 1956, p. 5.

2. Public Opinion Changing on Smith Act

"All this tended to create conditions much more favorable for the defense of civil rights and democratic liberties. Questions of constitutional rights assumed greater significance. Broader forces took increasing

interest in the status of civil liberties, and began to do something about it. A marked change also began to be felt in the public mind as to the meaning of the Smith Act trials."

"The important feature of the Ohio trial* was that for the first time powerful voices outside of the Left were willing and able to speak out boldly on basic Constitutional issues, on the rights of the Communist Party to a legal existence."**

A. Krchmarek, "The Ohio Smith Act Trial,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, pp. 59, 62.

3. McCarran Act

"The Supreme Court decision returning the McCarran Act issue to the SACB*** represents a partial victory for American political sanity and the decent opinion of mankind. It is also an effective blow to the political perjury system produced by the Justice Department stoopigeon stable.

"...the McCarran Act is brazenly unconstitutional.

"The act is more than a licensing law. It is, as President Truman pointed out in his veto message, a grave menace to the rights of free speech, press and association of all Americans. Along with the Smith Act it represents part of a cold-war policy designed to outlaw opposition political parties and crush political dissent.' "

Daily Worker,
May 1, 1956, pp. 1, 8.

*The reference is to the trial of eleven communist leaders in Cleveland, Ohio, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

**Underlined words are italicized in the original.

***The reference is to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

4. Federal Security Program

"By a vote of 6-3 the U. S. Supreme Court has dealt a heavy and thoroughly deserved blow to the witchhunt program conducted against government employes."

"The Court says that President Eisenhower violated the law when he set up a so-called security program applicable to all government workers. It charges that a 1950 statute on which the President's program was based intended to cover only positions 'concerned with the nation's safety.'

"The decision is all the more important in view of the fact that published statistics indicate that half of the government workers fired under heresy-screening held 'nonsensitive' positions.

"The government's program, now attacked by the Court, set the pattern for similar witchhunts among state and city employes and in private industry. About 10, 000, 000 Americans are now involved in the screening net."

"However, the only real safety and security for America lies in ending the witchhunting in any kind of post...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

5. Confidential Informants

"Every denaturalization and deportation hearing, every loyalty inquisition which sent a government employee, educator, or industrial worker pounding the streets looking for a job, has likewise been 'tainted' by the false testimony of the professional informers."

The Worker,
May 6, 1956, p. 13.

"Yet the informer system is at the very heart of the tyranny with which the witchhunters control the right of Americans to hold their jobs, or to choose association freely."

Daily Worker,
July 31, 1956, p. 6.

"The informer system, on which alone rest the Smith Act prosecution and the Subversive Activities Control Board proceedings, is overdue for the discard...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 20, 1956, p. 5.

6. 84th Congress

"DISILLUSION and disappointment with Congress has been a recurring theme in American political life ever since the first retreats from the New Deal. The 84th Congress which has just adjourned was no exception. Its closing hours witnessed the sell-out of the civil rights bill, about as infamous a betrayal of campaign pledges as the nation has seen in many a year.

"The 84th Congress killed the school construction bill. It enacted a piddling little public housing measure the chief virtue of which is that it keeps the concept of low-cost public housing alive for another two years.

"Its only claim to credit was passage of the social security bill lowering the age at which women will be eligible to 62 and permitting totally disabled workers to collect benefits at 50.

"Instead of any steps to restore the Bill of Rights after the five years of erosion of the McCarthy era, the 84th Congress added new stiff penalties to the Smith thought-control Act.

"Ignored were the platform pledges to labor to repeal or amend Taft-Hartley, and section 14-B, under which reactionary state legislatures have passed the so-called right-to-work laws, still stands. The minimum wage was NOT raised to \$1.25. Prevailing union wage scale were NOT ordered on all government-financed construction.

"The McCarran-Walter immigration act was NOT liberalized and there was no tax cut."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 5, 1956, p. 4.

"Although each legislature sell-out bore a bi-partisan stamp, major responsibility must lie with the Eisenhower Administration. . . . But the blame must also lie on the shoulders of the Democratic leadership of the Senate and House--especially Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn--who time and again collaborated with the GOP and appeased the Dixiecrats within their own party."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 30, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

". . . For the essential fact is that the 84th Congress has failed the people because of the alliance between the Republicans and the Dixiecrats."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 13, 1956, p. 5.

7. Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court

". . . The denunciation of Chief Justice Warren. . . by Eastland and McCarthy as a crypto-communist is a dangerous attempt to reverse the recent democratic trend in several of the court's decisions, and to intimidate it against persisting in that course.

"Ever since the court's decision on school segregation the racists and reactionaries in Congress have been searching for methods to revert to the segregated past.

"The more recent decisions in the arena of civil liberties have enraged the McCarthy-Mundt-Eastland cabal even more. In both the Senate and the House a number of bills have been introduced which would substitute McCarthyism for constitutional rights."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 28, 1956, p. 5.

"Chief complaint of reaction against court decisions favorable to democracy is that they undermine 'state's rights.'

"The way is thus set for a coalition of anti-labor Republicans and Dixiecrat Democrats to try to clip the court's wings in behalf of reaction...."

The Worker,
June 24, 1956, p. 4.

"Eastland and his gang would take from the high court its role as interpreter of the law and granting to the states the power to duplicate federal laws. They would make permanent any interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court which had not been changed for 50 years; and they would make all U. S. citizens subject to laws passed by racist and anti-labor dictatorships parading as state governments.

"... The only answer to these attempts to reverse the timetable of democracy is a stand-up fight in Congress for civil rights and civil liberties. There is no middle ground between law enforcement and illegality, between racist gangsterism and morality."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 19, 1956, p. 5.

8. House Committee on Un-American Activities

"The people are fed up with the Un-American Committee, don't take it seriously, at any rate. In more than one court action, the bench has ruled that the House group has exceeded its legal authority and function."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 29, 1956, p. 5.

"Isn't it about time that the country--and members of Congress in the first place--dropped the idea that the Un-American Committee is too powerful and untouchable a group to be criticized?..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 12, 1956, p. 5.

9. Lobbying and Campaign Spending

"What came of the proposal to limit lobbying activity and to check massive election spending?"

"IT IS not, of course, by chance that efforts to limit either lobbying or campaign spending have come to nothing. What is involved here is the heart of our capitalist political setup, one of the major methods, or techniques, by which Big Business rules the roost, even though we're suppose to be a 'classless democracy' in which every citizen is equal."

The Worker,
August 5, 1956, p. 3.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Military appropriations should be reduced, and the money saved should be used for public welfare projects.
2. American military leaders should visit the Soviet Union.
3. The "Army mess in Europe" should be investigated.
4. The United States is becoming increasingly militarized.
5. The training program of the United States Marine Corps should be investigated by Congress.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Military Appropriations

"But military buildup remains the preoccupation of the Administration, and of the missle-minded section of the Democrats. As a consequence, billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money are shoveled into the cash registers of the war contractors."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 9, 1956, p. 5.

"THE SERVICE squabble about the effectiveness of various weapons deals with matters which are outside our knowledge, but it's not too hard to get the whiff of the old pork barrel from a controversy involving tremendous amounts of the taxpayer's money."

"There is the pork barrel to end all pork barrels, and there is the reason for the tenacious resistance to, and almost comic fear of, the idea and example of genuine, reciprocal disarmament, the road to peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 24, 1956, p. 5.

"...A square deal for American housing, for school construction, for road building, for slum clearance, for massive war against juvenile delinquency--all depend on cutting military expenditures."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 29, 1956, p. 5.

2. Visit of Military Officials to Moscow

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER was just out of the ether when acting president Sherman Adams presented him with an 'outline' for rejecting a Soviet invitation to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to visit Moscow. The President concurred with his assistant.

"This is line*with the dread spreading throughout Washington--that the cold war is dying on its feet...."

"All in all, America is strong enough, we think, to allow its military chiefs to visit the Soviet Union. We doubt very seriously that they'll become communists after only a single visit."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 13, 1956, p. 5.

*This probably should read "This is in line."

3. U. S. Troops Overseas

"It is understandable that the presence of foreign troops is objectionable for any people. It is also well known that with large numbers of young soldiers thrown among the European civilian population serious frictions are bound to result.

"But something else has been added to the matter of foreign troops and occupying armies. An atmosphere has been created in Germany-- and in some parts of Britain and France--not entirely from* that which obtains in a large part of the U. S. Racism has become a criterion in assessing what social acts do od do not constitute a crime."

"Under these circumstances, it can be asked:

"Is the Army seeking to get out from under the criticism of Europeans by organizing 'rape circuses' with Negro victims?

"Doesn't the entire issue of the occupation army and the manning of foreign bases need investigating and overhauling. . ."

"These latest developments indicate the need for a civilian group to look into the Army mess in Europe, irrespective of what Congress or the Defense Department may do about it."

Daily Worker,
August 13, 1956, p. 2.

*This probably should read "not entirely different from."

4. Militarization of America

"... A further characteristic of the development of state monopoly capital in the cold war years, with its 'managed economy' implications, is the widespread militarization of the government, the industries, the colleges, and other key institutions that has recently taken place. General Eisenhower, as President of the United States, is the major symbol of this broad tendency. Many of the top brass are seeking administrative political careers as they approach the time of retirement, and there is also a veritable flood of generals, admirals, and other outstanding militarists into prominent positions in the upper executive echelons of big corporations. It is estimated that 2,000 of them took this route in 1955. Special attention is also being paid by these gentry to occupying the highest posts in the universities. Even as they are tying the industries organically to the state machine, especially in its military aspects, so the top militarists are also making sure that the educated youth are made part of the broad and ever-expanding state-industrial-educational-military apparatus of American imperialism."

William Z. Foster, "The 'Managed Economy' of the U.S. (Pt. I)," Political Affairs, July, 1956, p. 31.

5. Court-Martial of Staff Sergeant McKeon

"The court of seven Marine officers obligingly dismissed the most serious charges against McKeon and found him guilty only of simple negligence.... The verdict upholds Marine training methods but makes McKeon an individual scapegoat."

"We believe McKeon deserved to be punished. Whether the sentence--busting to private, nine months jailing at hard labor, and a bad conduct discharge--was harsh or lenient can be debated.

"But this doesn't end the case. Everyone knows that McKeon was both the product and instrument of the brutal Marine training system. It was this system that needlessly killed the six young recruits. It is this system which places the Marine Corps even above religion or patriotism... which breeds sadist training officers like McKeon and countless others no different from him--all with the excuse that military discipline requires it.

"The Marines need discipline, as any good fighting armed force does. No marine or veteran of any section of our armed forces will quarrel with this. But we do not believe that esprit de corps means placing the Marines above religion or patriotism--or simple decency and humanity.

"... It seems to us, now that the McKeon trial has ended (pending appeal), that a Congressional investigation into the Marine training system, with public hearings, is still needed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 6, 1956, p. 5.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The Democratic and Republican leaders in the United States Senate, along with the Republican Administration, are responsible for the defeat of civil rights legislation.
2. The civil rights planks of the campaign platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties are unsatisfactory.
3. The Federal Government should intervene to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Southern States.
4. Negroes are still threatened with violence, and they suffer discrimination and segregation in the South.
5. A movement is under way in the South to eliminate racial discrimination.
6. The Negroes who are boycotting the bus line in Tallahassee, Florida, should be supported.
7. Legal action against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in various Southern States is an attempt to outlaw the organization.
8. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court prohibiting segregation in intrastate transportation is "a great victory."
9. The White Citizens' Councils are symbols of revolt against Federal law.
10. Socialism offers the solution to the economic, social, and political problems of the Negroes.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Civil Rights Legislation

"... the civil rights issue has come to dominate the 1956 national electoral scene, just as the issue of McCarthyism dominated 1954. McCarthy went down to crushing defeat two years ago. There is good ground for believing white supremacy can receive a similar setback in 1956, not alone in the national elections but in the concessions that can be forced from the politicians of both major parties in the course of the campaign.

"Focus of the struggle at this moment is the civil rights bill before Congress...."

"The primary test for both parties will be their performance in relation to the vital civil rights program in Congress.

"A second test will be their campaign platforms. Here, the Democratic convention will be the main arena...."

"A third test is election of Negroes to public office...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 5, 1956, p. 5.

"... there was no question as to where the responsibility for killing civil rights bill should lie, and that was on the shoulders of the Democratic and Republican leadership of the Senate, and on the Eisenhower administration."

The Worker,
July 29, 1956, p. 5.

"... For who can deny that the real purpose of the Dixiecrats (with the active connivance of GOP leader Knowland) in barring civil rights action is to permit the continued shedding of Negro blood with impunity from federal intervention?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 26, 1956, p. 5.

2. Civil Rights Planks

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS plank adopted by the Democratic national convention over the vigorous protests of the labor-liberal bloc is bad politically and even worse morally."

"This is a Johnson-Rayburn plank. It reveals once again the power and influence which the Dixiecrats and their appeasers wield in the Democratic party..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 17, 1956, p. 5.

"The Republicans, counting on the popularity of their chief standard bearer, the relaxed world climate and the relatively high level of prosperity, are making the big pitch to round up the votes of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and the small business men."

"THUS they have drafted a civil rights plank which goes slightly beyond the Democrat's shabby plank, pledges the GOP to 'accept' the Supreme Court decision, and endorses the civil rights legislation introduced belatedly by the administration in the last days of the 84th Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 22, 1956, p. 5.

3. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"THE SILENCE of President Eisenhower in the face of the orgy of racist violence in Tennessee is inexcusable....

"This is not an ordinary mob which has threatened law and order, life and limb in Clinton, Tennessee--it is a racist mobilization to prevent the enforcement of a federal court order."

"There is then, on the part of the President of the United States, both a moral and legal duty to place the weight of his office on the side of law and order and basic morality. But the country has listened in vain for the needed condemnation and the Presidential pledge to back up United States courts."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 5, 1956, p. 5.

4. Negroes in the South

"...Negroes are still lynched, murdered and assassinated with impunity in Georgia and Mississippi; tens of thousands of Negroes and poor whites are kept from the polls; the hard-core of the feudal plantation system remains; jimcrow, segregation and discrimination are still the degrading routine of Negro life in the South, and in varying degrees all over the U. S. Even in the arena of court struggle, the legal basis of the death-dealing slums and job discrimination are yet to be outlawed."

Daily Worker,
May 4, 1956, p. 4.

5. The Changing South

"...historic changes are under way in the South. Southern men and women, Negro and white alike, with a militant youth in the forefront, are

beginning to take their destiny in their own hands. The historic outcome of this great development will be to free the South and the nation from the abomination of Jim Crow. American democratic public opinion can only look with favor upon this historic development, and give it united, enthusiastic support."

Edward E. Strong, "The Defeat of Shivers,"
Political Affairs, June, 1956, p. 23.

6. Tallahassee, Florida, Bus Boycott

"... The Tallahassee, Fla., police have ordered the arrest of auto drivers who have volunteered to transport Negroes boycotting the local bus lines.

"It has now been declared a crime in Tallahassee to offer your neighbor a ride if that neighbor is a Negro who refuses to accept a segregated bus seat. This is not only preposterous, arrogant and a subversion of the ends of orderly local government, it is an attempt to make peaceful protest impossible in the face of state-enforced racial restrictions. This un-American--even un-Southern--police order also violates the spirit, if not the letter of the law of the land as it is written into the Constitution and recent U. S. Supreme Court desegregation decisions.

"... And it is a credit to the nation and the Negro people that the Negro Inter-Civic Council which helped organize volunteer drivers for giving protesters rides has announced its intention of standing firm in the face of illegal police intimidation.

"In this the Tallahassee Negroes have followed the example of their Montgomery, Ala., brothers and sisters who maintained 100 percent unity behind their bus protest despite the arrest of more than 90 of their leaders....

"This nation and the world rallied to the support of the Montgomery Negroes. Tallahassee has not yet become a place-name seared into the nation's conscience; but the Negroes of the North Florida city have taken their place beside those in Montgomery who have fought so heroically for realizing the American way of life for themselves. They deserve the support as well as the applause of the nation.

"And the federal government can be asked what it intends to do about this flagrant announcement that klannish jackboots will trample on civil rights in Tallahassee."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 20, 1956, p. 5.

7. Attacks on the NAACP

"IN STATE AFTER STATE--South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and now Alabama--the only effective moderate opposition to the one-party dictatorships is being outlawed. For the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is being declared illegal by various means in these segregated states for no other reason than the group's deep-rooted affirmation of the American system of rule by law.

"In effect, the attacks on the NAACP represent a perversion of the so-called police powers of these states from protecting the security of their citizens into suppressive devices aimed at preventing Americans from expressing, in practice, their allegiance to the United States."

"Voters, North and South, would support moves by the President, through the Attorney General, against the racist persecution of the NAACP and its southern leaders...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 4, 1956, p. 5.

"We trust that the NAACP will win prompt and effective support in the fight to protect its right to function in the South..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 27, 1956, p. 5.

8. Segregation in Intrastate Transportation

"THE SUPREME Court decision banning segregation in intrastate transportation is a great victory for Negro rights and for the rising cause of democracy in our country.

"Extending the application of the principle inaugurated in the anti-segregation school decision, it further undermines the legal foundation of the jimcrow system. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the Negro people and other minorities--and their allies--all over the country. It helps to create even more favorable conditions for the Negro people, their labor and progressive allies, to intensify the people's struggle for ending the whole white supremacy system in the U. S. The NAACP is to be congratulated for its brilliant contribution to this victory."

Daily Worker,
May 4, 1956, p. 4.

9. White Citizens' Councils

"... 'Gradualism' was supposed to give the South time for adjustment. Instead, it gave the Citizens Councils time to organize, to conjure up ancient Confederate symbols and dredge up old prejudices and hatreds."

Daily Worker,
May 29, 1956, p. 4.

"... a noisy and bellicose racist minority, holding power in Deep South states and in the federal government, has raised the banner of revolt against federal law and national morality. They have organized the 'white collar Ku Klux Klan'--White Citizens Councils--and rallied 100 southern Congressmen to sign an arrogant 'manifesto' attacking the U. S. Supreme Court, stopping just short of endorsing a new Secession."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 17, 1956, p. 1.

10. Negroes Need Socialism

"... socialism offers to Americans, and especially Negro Americans, the ultimate answer to the economic, social and political problems with which we are confronted...."

Daily Worker,
June 14, 1956, p. 5.

IX. EDUCATION

1. American educational institutions are enjoying a revival of academic freedom.
2. Communist teachers should be judged by their ability and not their political views.
3. There is still considerable discrimination in education.
4. Federal funds should be provided for school construction and for increased teachers' salaries.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Academic Freedom

"...There was a rather brief period, some six or seven years ago, when the normal questioning and challenging of college youth had all but disappeared so far as articulate expression was concerned. But for the past few years this icy terror has been receding and today it is a fact that the stirrings on the campus are greater than at any time in some fifteen years."

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"...On scores of campuses thousands of students and faculty members have rededicated themselves to the defense of the Bill of Rights and have gone out of their way to make clear that Communists, too, have the same freedoms as have all other Americans and that they mean to preserve and develop their own right to hear all points of view as expressed by their adherents, including Marxism as expressed by avowed Marxists.

"...The change in the past five years is breath-taking."

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"...Anything that inhibits the fullest and most complete academic freedom here is a disservice to the education of our youth, an obstacle to the advance of science and beauty and justice; and is unworthy of our country."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Question of Academic Freedom,"
Political Affairs, May, 1956, pp. 43,
44, 51.

2. Communists as Teachers

"But we wish to confine ourselves to the question of the disqualification of teachers on political grounds, and especially on the ground of being Communists. We think that all regulations having this as their purpose clearly violate elementary tenets of the Bill of Rights and of academic freedom...."

"Let the scholarly works of Communists and let their teaching be subjected to the same tests as all others--the ordeal by experts, the testing by peers...."

"The whole argument for denying Communists as Communists the right to teach amounts to guilt by association and constitutes a bill of attainder...."

Ibid., pp. 47, 50, 51.

"It is time to return to the elementary principle--forcefully enunciated by so conservative a figure as the late Senator Robert A. Taft,

and more recently by the American Association of University Professors-- that a teacher be judged by performance and not by political views.

"The ideologists of the view that Communists cannot be allowed to teach insist that such teachers are under instruction to smuggle in the 'party line.'

"However, in the scores of... trials of alleged Communists, not one allegation has been made of classroom misconduct. On the contrary, almost every teacher tried was spoken of with highest praise by students, parents, fellow-teachers and even principals."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 10, 1956, p. 5.

3. Discrimination in Education

"Further, it is notorious that in our country academic freedom is vitiated to a considerable degree by many kinds of religious, racial and national prejudices. Of these, among the more damaging is anti-Semitism which acts to limit severely the number of Jews permitted in certain areas of study and specialization and which even more severely limits the number of Jews hired as teachers.

"The most devastating single prejudice within this category, however, is of course that directed against the Negro people... Here the facts are a world-wide scandal--from students facing lynching for daring to seek advanced education, to legalizing third-rate educational facilities for Negroes, to several states now banning by law any teaching that questions the supremacy of white people and to other states prohibiting members of the N. A. A. C. P. from being employed as teachers.

"... There are, for example, severe social pressures directed against female advancement in the areas of advanced scientific study and research and this reacts very adversely against the real academic freedom of women, as students and as teachers.

"Again, economic pressures place the masses at a distinct disadvantage and the rich at a great advantage in terms of scholastic pursuits. Clearly the entire middle and upper class nature of our higher-educational system, from its students, instructors, administrators, trustees, curriculum and subject matter constitutes an overwhelming limitation on full academic freedom. One may simply point out that very, very few people who are domestic workers or coal miners or sharecroppers or longshoremen when they are 18, are going to be college teachers when they are 30."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Question of Academic Freedom,"
Political Affairs, May, 1956, pp. 46, 47.

4. Federal Aid for Education

"... Now a record of over 40 million Americans will be enrolled in schools and colleges of the land. But as the attendance soars the number of schools and seats lags further and further behind, and the lack of teaching personnel increases.

"Quite obviously this is something the cities and local communities cannot cope with alone. This is a national problem. It concerns the greatest of our resources--America's youth, America's future. The school crisis can be solved only with a massive federal program of aid to education. The country needs federal funds for school construction. And there is a crying need for aid to enable schools everywhere to pay teachers the salaries which their difficult, exacting and most valuable work deserves. To double the salaries of the country's teachers would still not put them at a very high level."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 10, 1956, p. 5.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Art must reflect "the life of the people."
2. Federal aid for the fine arts is necessary.
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of cultural delegations between the United States and other nations.
4. Black-listing in the entertainment field is responsible for the "degeneration" of American motion pictures.
5. Soviet culture is experiencing a revival since "errors of dogma and bureaucracy" have been eliminated.
6. The Soviet Union is encouraging a revival of Jewish culture.
7. There should be an increase in the international exchange of scientific information.
8. The "public utility monopolists" are delaying the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
9. More American religious leaders should visit the Soviet Union.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Art Should Reflect Life

"An abyss seems to have opened between the intellectual cosmopolites of culture, and the people, hungry for word and meaning...."

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"No art can develop until it penetrates deeply into the life of the people.

"The source of American culture lies in the historic movement of our people, and the artist must become voice, messenger, awakener, sparking the inflammable silence, reflecting back the courage and the beauty...."

Meridel Le Sueur, "The Dark of the Time,"
Masses & Mainstream, August, 1956,
pp. 12, 21.

2. Federal Aid for the Arts

"MORE EMPHATICALLY than ever, the question is posed of municipal and federal support for the arts...."

"BASICALLY THE ISSUE is concern for our nation's culture. It is part of the problem that plagues our schools--the shortage of funds to maintain adequate staffs, buildings, and curricula."

Daily Worker,
June 14, 1956, p. 6.

"LOVERS OF THE fine arts will be pleased to know that the Senate has passed the Lehman Fine Arts Bill (S 3419). The bill called for legislation establishing a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. It now goes to the House where most of the opposition to the bill is to be found."

Daily Worker,
July 10, 1956, p. 6.

3. Cultural Exchange

"...so long as our cultural program remains a political football, we will make progress too slowly, if at all--and at a time when the world, as in Marco Polo's day, yearns to discover the nations that they do not know."

"The arts and letters are the soundest ambassadors indeed, and if they could not show the whole America, as yet, they would reveal an important part, the part which mankind across the oceans does not know. Our people are not Frankenstein's monster, despite everything Frankenstein, in this instance, Wall Street, has said and done."

The Worker,
August 12, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"LET US STRUGGLE, all together, to lift our Fingerprint Curtain and give warm greetings from our shores to the many sport, dramatic, musical and other artistic organizations from the Soviet, Chinese and the people's democratic countries.

"It will be a great day for peace and co-existence when the President of the United States, his wife and half of his cabinet will be present in the National Theatre in Washington, enjoying an evening of Chinese Opera presented by the Peking Opera Company."

Daily Worker,
September 25, 1956, p. 7.

4. Black-Listing in Entertainment

"BETWEEN 1951 and 1954, 212 motion picture workers were named as Communists or near-Communists or what not. Today none of them is working in the movie industry. Among them were top drawer screen writers, directors, actors and actresses, and other workers at all levels of the vast industry.

"The firing of the 212 represented the subjection of the entire industry to the reactionary orders of as unwholesome a gang of inquisitors as was ever assembled in the U.S."

The Worker,
July 1, 1956, p. 1.

"Hearst columnists George Sokolsky and Victor Riesel, and Frederick Woltman of the World-Telegram-Sun, stand revealed today as the 'Supreme Court' of a blacklist reaching into virtually every corner of the American entertainment world."

"... a handful of self-appointed censors have managed to wrest control of hiring throughout film, radio and television centers, by terrorizing networks and sponsors, and establishing McCarthy standards of political purity."

Daily Worker,
June 26, 1956, p. 1.

"... one of the chief reasons for Hollywood's degeneration into production of what were termed 'B and nervous A productions which just can't meet (television) competition' has resulted largely from the kow-towing Hollywood has done to the un-American* and the blacklisting of outstanding performers, writers, producers and ideas."

Daily Worker,
June 13, 1956, p. 7.

*This probably refers to The Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives.

5. Soviet Culture

"...But ravaging errors of dogma and bureaucracy that were declared manifest in other areas of Soviet life had taken their heavy toll in literature and culture as well."

"The playwrights talked about the 'conflictless drama' arguing that socialism had already removed the passionate dissents that operate everywhere in the world. The movies had never recaptured the magic of Potemkin or Chapayev or the masterpieces of Einstein.* The critics were fearful of expressing an opinion until they heard from 'somebody higher up.' Publishers played it safe, and the worst tragedy of all, it was later learned, writers like the Jewish poet Itzik Feffer had been executed after a frameup."

Daily Worker,
May 18, 1956, p. 6.

"Soviet films are in the limelight again after a long, long period of drought."

"The Soviet movie artists have been aware of the failings of their productions for some time and have been subjecting their past work to some devastating criticism."

Daily Worker,
May 2, 1956, p. 6.

6. Jewish Culture in the USSR

"The Soviet Writers Organization has worked out a detailed project to revive Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. Included in this project are (1) the establishment of a Yiddish publishing house, (2) opening of a

*This probably refers to Sergei Eisenstein, the Soviet motion-picture director, who died in 1948.

Yiddish Theatre, (3) publication of a Yiddish newspaper, triweekly for the present, (4) a literary quarterly, (5) calling of a national conference of Yiddish writers and cultural workers."

"...the Soviet Yiddish writers are energetically working on their own writings, as well as helping the commission of the writers' organization and the publishers to re-establish Yiddish literature...."

The Worker,
July 29, 1956, p. 4.

7. Exchange of Scientific Information

"...science knows no boundaries. Its findings benefit all equally. One would have thought that that is self-evident, but it has not been, at least in modern years. The era of the cold war prevented this common-sense conclusion from being clear as crystal."

"...It appears to auger a dawning recognition in highest circles that all of us are the losers if the present obscurantism continues. Science, like man, must be free, in order to flourish; the oxygen in the air scientists breathe is the free consideration and debate of ideas."

"As it is in science, so it is in all areas of man's wisdom, his accumulated knowledge that we call his culture...."

The Worker,
May 6, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

"... The potential of atom science seems to extend into whole new panoramas, formerly untouched, in man's continuing conquest of nature.

"... the Soviet Union is making available to scientists all over the world its knowledge and its advances in the field."

Daily Worker,
June 26, 1956, p. 6.

8. Atomic Energy for Peace

"... The further development of atomic energy in the United States for peaceful purposes is now being blocked by the public utility monopolists, who have in their camp a majority of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission, including its chairman Admiral Lewis Strauss."

"Both Britain and the Soviet Union, it is generally agreed, are far ahead of our country in the practical development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

"What is even more important is that no comparable advances are in prospect here unless and until the veto power of the public utility industry is dissolved."

"THE PRIVATE utilities intend to do nothing substantial to advance the development of atomic energy for peace unless and until the federal government and the American people submit to their terms."

The Worker,
June 10, 1956, p. 10.

9. Visit of Religious Leaders to USSR

"THE COMING visit of five leading American rabbis to the Soviet Union should encourage the trend toward greater intercourse and friendship between the peoples of our country and of the Soviet Union.

"It follows the trip of a representative group of American Protestant churchmen to the Soviet Union...."

"It is good that the Rabbincal Council of America has taken this initiative...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 15, 1956, p. 5.

XI. WOMEN

1. Federal legislation which would guarantee women equal pay for performing the same work as men should be enacted.
2. The taxes of working mothers should be reduced.
3. American women are playing an increasingly important role in politics.
4. Socialism will provide the "complete solution" to the problem of reducing the burden of housework.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"A national equal pay law is of vast importance to both men and women workers.... Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority groups feel the discrimination even more than white women, although virtually all women are affected."

"Federal legislation is desperately needed. Only 16 of the states and Alaska have equal pay laws, and 32 states do not. The Federal Government has power to regulate equal pay under the interstate commerce law.

"All government contracts should be amended to provide against discrimination because of sex. The executive order as it currently reads, omits 'sex' from its provisions."

The Worker,
July 29, 1956, p. 14.

2. Tax Reductions for Working Mothers

"Comparatively few women in the United States achieve higher training, and even fewer are able to make use of it, although the number of girls who finish high school is about the same as the number of boys, and in intelligence they are equal...."

"There are solutions... One, which can be achieved in the next session of Congress if we put our minds to it, is the passage of a bill introduced in 1956 by Representatives Fine and Multer, both of New York. This bill would raise the tax deduction for the care of children of working mothers from \$600 to \$2,500."

The Worker,
July 8, 1956, p. 7.

3. Women's Role in Politics

"THIS YEAR the majority of Americans of voting age will be women, and working women will be a large proportion of the voters. The Labor and Commerce Departments have just announced that one out of every three people with a job is a woman, and a third of all the wives in the country are working."

"We women are playing a constantly greater role in politics. Political parties need our votes. Let them earn them."

The Worker,
July 29, 1956, p. 14.

4. Women Need Socialism

"...the working week of American housewives is getting longer, and for the average city housewife is already 100 hours..."

"Short of socialism, can anything be done to cut the burden of housework?"

"If you are old enough to remember World War II, then you yourself lived through an era in which many factories in the United States provided services for women very similar to those in the Soviet Union or the People's Democracies today.

"In the Kaiser Shipyards and many of the larger auto plants, for example, there were low-cost cafeterias and restaurants, where the entire family could eat, and not only the one or two who were working. Some plants had a 'carry-home' arrangement for hot meals. In certain factories commercial laundries were opened; a member of the family could bring in the entire family wash, drop it at the laundry, and pick it up completely finished later in the week.

"Some plants set up a shopping service... Women who worked in these plants got rid of an enormous part of the housework, and in spite of the strains of war they actually had more leisure and more time to spend with their families, as well as time for study and recreation.

"Other means to the same end include a vast public housing program for low-income families, providing adequate apartments, and providing also playground space and nurseries and kindergartens and child-care centers and after-school recreation centers for older children, right in the project, adequately staffed. The fight can be resumed against monopoly prices in restaurants, cafeterias, cost of clothing, commercial services, and so on.

"There is a limit to what can be accomplished in this direction under capitalism..."

The Worker,
May 13, 1956, pp. 11; 14.

"...the answer must lie in social, not individual, channels...."

"...a complete solution awaits world socialism--although...
much can be done in this direction even under capitalism, if there is constant
struggle to that end."

The Worker,
May 6, 1956, p. 11.

XII. YOUTH

1. Juvenile delinquency is a problem for society as a whole, and not merely for individual families.
2. All children should be inoculated against poliomyelitis without charge.
3. Improved recreational facilities should be provided for our youth.
4. Ending the cold war and discrimination, along with Federal aid for education, would solve most of the problems of today's youth.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Juvenile Delinquency

"MANY PEOPLE know that much of the increase in violent expressions of juvenile delinquency can be generally traced to the war atmosphere prevailing in this country for a number of years, the emphasis on brutality and violence in mass medias of communication, the cynical winking at morality by elders and on teen-ageers' frustrations and uncertainty about what future exists for them.

"In such an atmosphere, life itself cannot help but be cheapened."

"WHEN THE BULK of these children sense the lack of attention and concern about their lives, their future, their hopes, we are then faced with the serious juvenile delinquency problem at hand. Regardless of how much the family strives to supply these children with security and ethical codes, they cannot supply all. For many Negro, Puerto Rican and working

families, faced with a daily struggle to make ends meet, it is not even in their power to assure necessary security. The community, society and elected officials of city and state government have a decisive responsibility to these slum ridden teen-agers standing on crowded streets, living in packed tenement apartments, attending overcrowded, understaffed schools, faced with inferior inadequate cultural, craft and sports outlets for their talents."

"IT'S NO WONDER the pentup frustrations and tensions of these youth often erupt in tragic violence. It's no accident that in the absence of concern and outlets they band together into their own groups, the end results often being an aimless loss of life.. ."

Daily Worker,
August 1, 1956, p. 8.

2. Free Polio Vaccine

"IT'S CLEAR NOW that they've licked polio--medically. Dr. Salk says his tests prove that, given the right doses on schedule, the marvelous vaccine can be 100 percent effective--and that the threat of polio can be wiped out in three years.

"Our question is--why wait?

"No scientific barrier remains. All that's in the way of sure protection for every child across the country--adults, too--is that last barrier--cash.

"While American cash is funnelled out toward mammoth arms projects in the next three years, thousands of children will be killed or crippled by polio--with the cure in our hands!

"One simple, humane thing can be done to prevent this--by the stroke of a presidential pen: divert some of the citizens' taxes to protect the citizens. Simple? Of course. One guided missile, one destroyer less--and we can lick polio for good."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 15, 1956, p. 5.

"As in Canada and several countries of Western Europe, it is time we recognized this as a public health problem, and saw to it that all children received the entire three shots free."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 7, 1956, p. 5.

3. Improved Recreational Facilities

"...as the cities grow larger and space between buildings crowd the sand-lot--baseball's cradle--into the past, cannot an adequate growth in the number of playgrounds and parks take up the slack?..."

Daily Worker,
June 1, 1956, p. 6.

"What the future will bring I do not know, for more and more sandlots are being smothered by the gray asphalt, and the streets of my childhood have been turned into speedways. There are more playgrounds now but it is a question whether they are being built fast enough to fill the void."

The Worker,
May 6, 1956, p. 8.

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"Dozens of private charity and religious groups are working for the children's summertime needs. But no single government agency is wholly concerned with what happens to our school kids when school's out."

Daily Worker,
June 20, 1956, p. 4.

4. Needs of Youth

"...the real needs and problems of youth--(are) federal aid to education, an end to militarization and the cold war, job protection, minimum wage coverage, union organization, and an end to discrimination."

The Worker,
May 6, 1956, p. 14.

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